Timely Lead

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

VOL. XVI. No. 38 AHMEDABAD — SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1952 TWO ANNAS

HOW PLAN FOR INDIA

(*By Gandhiji*)

Q. The Government has been introducing schemes of industrializing the country for the maximum utilization of her raw materials, not of her abundant and unused man-power which is left to (take care of itself as best as it can). Can such schemes be considered *swadeshi* ?

A. Gandhiji remarked that the question had been well put. He did not exactly know what the Government plan was. But he heartily endorsed the proposition that any plan which exploited the raw materials of a country and neglected the potentially more powerful man-power was lop-sided and could never tend to establish human equality.

America was the most industrialized country in the world and yet it had not banished poverty and degradation. That was because it neglected the universal man-power and concentrated power in the hands of the few who amassed fortunes at the expense of the many. The result was that its industrialization had become a menace to its own poor and to the rest of the world.

If India was to escape such disaster, it had to imitate what was best in America and the other Western countries and leave aside its attractive looking but destructive economic policies. Therefore, real planning consisted in the best utilization of the whole man-power of India and the distribution of the raw products of India in her numerous villages instead of sending them outside and rebuying finished articles at fabulous prices.

Harijan, 23-3-'47

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THE THIRD FORCE AND POWER POLITICS

(*By Pyarelal*)

In a previous article ('The Third Force' — *Harijan*, 1-11-'52) I dwelt upon the need for a common programme of action for those who constitute the "third force". The question has been posed what should be their attitude in regard to the present Government with whose programme and performance they are all dissatisfied. Should not unity on the constructive front go hand in hand with unity on the political front? Can constructive work be divorced from the politics of the country? Was not purification of the politics of the country a major item in Gandhiji's programme?

All these are very cogent considerations. More could be added. Without examining them here in detail let me set forth my own conclusion.

I feel certain that to fulfil its purpose the "third force" has, for the time being, to leave the Government altogether out of its consideration in devising its "common programme". Those who are out to realize the non-violent order of society — and the "third force" loses all its attractiveness if it has not that for its goal — must not think of having a share in the political power. It is only when they keep out of power politics that they will become a power in the land and be able to purify and shape the politics of the country.

We have, therefore, to let the Five Year Plan and the Community Projects go their way. We shall survive both. The difficulty with those who are at the helm of the Government is that they are divided in their mind. They have neither the courage to work out to their logical conclusion the ideals which as Congressmen they have accepted nor to categorically repudiate them. The reason partly is that the Government of which they have taken charge was not built to be run on those principles. They have to pay the price of continuity. The administrative machine which they have inherited holds them as its close prisoners. The services through which they function and must function have their old traditions which they cannot get out of. There is an unresolved conflict between economy and employment, efficiency and trade-unionism in the Government offices. The Government have to

build up and maintain their military potential, unless a non-violent or moral equivalent is ready at hand. They cannot jump out of a running train, as it were. But I dare say that no one would be happier than Pandit Nehru, for instance, if popular effort, or the "third force" could fill the gaps in the administrative set-up which are obvious, and provide the corrective which the administration so sorely needs. The present constitution is democratic enough to enable groups and parties outside the Government to influence the policies of the State Governments and of the Union and mould them according to the wishes of the people, provided they are armed with the necessary sanction, which under democracy can only be non-violent. It would be neither non-violence nor practical wisdom to hamper in the performance of their duty those who are running the Government in the way they know.

On the other hand, it should be plain as a pikestaff that any other party that today takes charge of the present machine will have to obey the dynamics of this machine. Some alleviation may follow but in its essentials the result on the whole will not be radically different from what we see today.

The "third force" has, therefore, to work from outside and from below, to build the non-violent basis which is today lacking. It has to steer clear of power politics to prepare for political action. Our programme should be to educate the people into what needs to be done and to show how they can do it, in other words, to put their destiny in their own hands and to make them on however small scale, to begin with, masters of it.

Valmiki Mandir,
New Delhi, 4-11-'52

NOTES

All-India Handloom Board

It is good news that the Union Government is appointing an all-India Handloom Board to advise Government on problems of handloom industry. Government also proposes to create a Handloom Fund from which grants or loans will be given for the development and improvement of the industry. A cess of three pies a yard of mill-made cloth is proposed to be levied, bringing to the Fund about 6 crores a year. The Board will also advise Government regarding the use of this Fund.

One thing requires to be noted in this connection: The Board should not forget that the *hand-spun yarn* handloom also is in their domain, and it requires special attention, if not more, for the simple reason that, for no fault of its own, it is the most neglected and today the weakest link in the chain of our textile supply. The Board should also realize that the mill-yarn handloom is dependent upon mill economy, and in the ultimate analysis, can be saved from that deplorable dependence by the Charkha only. As things are at present, and they do not seem to improve in spite of all planning, the handloom and the Charkha only can in alliance give us full employment which alone can be the basis of any planning worth the name. The Handloom Board must have as its members such persons also who may represent this view-point of the dumb millions of India.

5-11-'52 M. P.

Textile Enquiry Committee

P.T.I. reports that the Union Government also proposes to "set up a high-powered Committee of eight members to examine the whole field of the cotton textile industry." This can also be a welcome step, provided it works on the basis of securing full employment to the unemployed or under-employed dumb millions, in the work of producing the article which every one of them needs and to which he can very easily and immediately lend his helping hand. This Committee must have as its member a representative of the All-India Charkha Sangh. Khadi and handloom cloth must find a place of prominence and must be placed on our textile map as the most important sources of cloth supply, and economists must lend their skill to achieving this national requirement of full employment through the Charkha and the handloom. Cloth is our life-need next to food; these two are not such as should be or need be organized like heavy key-industries. They must be set up on a decentralized basis and as the greatest co-operative ventures of the whole of our people. We hope the Committee proposed to be set up will take a longer view of the task before it and give us a plan to realize the vision of an order that Gandhiji tried to put before us through the Khadi and village industries movement.

5-11-'52 M. P.

Rajaji on Handloom Fund

Shri Rajaji, in the course of his reply to a debate in the Madras Legislative Assembly, incidentally referred to the Handloom Fund proposed to be created by the Union Government. The occasion was the Government resolution for a demand for restricting the production of *Dhotis* and *Saris* solely to the handloom. The demand calls for basic reorientation of our textile policy. It is asking our mills to subserve one of our greatest cottage-industries by supplying its yarn need and not to compete with it as they have been doing till now. It is in relation to this that Shri Rajaji's following remarks (as reported by *The Hindu* of 6-11-'52) are worthy of our attention:

> "'The offer of money bonus or stipends is in the air,' Mr Rajagopalachari said and added, 'Anything is welcome. If money is given, it is not for us to say 'no'.' The Government of India would tell them what to do with it usually. But he could not imagine what he could do with the share of Madras. It might be one crore. The question was how they should help the handlooms. He was unable to think what they

should do with the three pies cess which they got from the mills which were to him the 'throttling' agency. 'We should not', the Chief Minister declared, 'get into the danger of earning some money from that which is going to throttle us to the extent we earn money. It is just like trying to use the drink money for propaganda against drink.' Unless the cess was a deterrent one, it was of no advantage. The cess proposed on mills was a mild one. It would just tickle the mill-owners to pay it for the handloom weavers. It would serve no other purpose whatsoever."

11-11-'52 M. P.

Hindi — National and Provincial

Shri Sastri of Hindi Prachar Sabha, T'Nagar, Madras, follows up his last letter about 'Hindi in Madras' (vide *Harijan*, 23-8-'52) with the following suggestion (6-9-'52).

"The timely suggestion by Shri Mangaldas Pakwasa that our national language Hindi should be more appropriately called as 'Bharatee' is most welcome, which if accepted, would allay the fear of 'Hindi Imperialism' in the mind of the non-Hindi speaking people and thus advance the cause of the Lingua Franca itself.

"There are no two opinions about the need for a Lingua Franca for India. While accepting Hindi as this common national language, it is little understood that Hindi as the Lingua Franca of India is quite different from Hindi as the provincial tongue of U.P., C. P. or Bihar. The Poddar Committee of Bombay Government has recognized this difference. The Indian Constitution has in unequivocal terms made it clear that Hindi as the national language should represent the composite culture of India, freely drawing the vocabulary, style etc. from the living Indian languages and Sanskrit. In fact, Hindi as our National Language is still in the making. It is therefore quite appropriate that our National Language should bear a different name to clearly distinguish it from Hindi as the provincial language of some States."

That there are, according to the Constitution of India, two Hindis is abundantly made clear by the Hindi Teaching Committee of Bombay State, presided over by Mahamahopadhyaya Poddar. One is the regional Hindi of Uttar Pradesh and the other is what is proposed to evolve as the national or State language of the Union. That it was necessary to bring out this vital distinction by using different names is quite true. Gandhiji had for this very reason adopted the word Hindustani for the all-India language. Unfortunately the Constitution-makers could not see their way to accepting it, with the unhappy result against which Shri Sastri rightly complains. But, I think, the remedy now is not necessarily through a change in name, which should require a change in the Constitution, but through learning, as soon as possible, the all-India language by non-Hindi provincials and taking a living interest in its evolution as envisaged and enjoined by the Constitution. The people in U. P. also can help this process, provided they realize the above point of view and evolve in their own province a common and simple style of Hindi as a happy amalgam of their two regional languages, Hindi and Urdu.

Abu, 22-10-'52 M. P.

"A Great Contrast"

I have received a small leaflet with the above title. It is from the "Gospel Home" Madurai (S.I.). The burden of the thesis is that Gandhiji said at Noakhali, "I see no light". While Jesus said, "I am the Light; I am the Truth". Therefore the writer urges that we should all follow Jesus — a greater than Gandhi.

It does not seem to me that it is within our capacity to judge the greatness of saints and measure them with a yard-stick which is far too inadequate. Much less so when we try to do so by texts torn out of their contexts. Gandhiji was dealing with a particular situation. Similarly placed Jesus Himself exclaimed, "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" Another may well ask, "How can we follow one who has been forsaken by God?" The whole leaflet is based on such puerile reasoning. Such propaganda is a disgrace to Christianity which the writer evidently wishes to glorify. He defeats his own purpose.

5-11-'52 J. C. KUMARAPPA

An Ideal Bhoodan

Thanks to the efforts of Pandit Dharmadev Shastri, the well-known constructive worker of Himachal Pradesh, Mahant Shri Udhodasji of Dashalni (a village in the Mahasu District of H.P.) has donated his entire *jagirdari* of 5,000 acres to Shri Vinoba. The donation has electrified the Bhoodan campaign in the area.

It will be recalled that Mangroth in U. P. was the first to gift the entire village-land to Shri Vinoba. It set an example of fulfilling the ideal set before us by Shri Vinoba's Mission. The present donation is in tune with that Mangroth spirit and is bound to inspire all other landowners, particularly big ones similarly.

In the course of a letter to Vinobaji about the donation, Shri Shastri wrote, "You have been asking landowners to make over the share of Daridranarayan to you as to another son or brother. Mahant Udhodasji has however donated his *jagirdari* to you as to a father or a *guru*. Daridranarayan is thus manifesting Himself in the form of the *guru* and the father too. God alone knows how and whom He inspires with His will. The inspiration which Mahantji felt in the far off Himalayas and the fact that it coincided with the 11th September (Shri Vinoba's birthday) is a challenge to those who have no faith in God. Mahantji is only twenty-eight years old."

(Adapted from original in Hindi) L. B.

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NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
Post Box 105, AHMEDABAD

HARIJAN

Nov. 15 1952

TIMELY LEAD

The Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee in its meeting held at Surat on 26-10-'52 has unanimously adopted a very significant resolution. By passing the resolution the Committee has in these difficult times given its region and indirectly Congress Committees all over the country a much needed and valuable lead. The resolution adopted by the Committee is as under :

> "The issue that the State should adopt a law prohibiting intoxicating drinks and drugs etc. was forged out in the course of the development of the struggle for Swaraj. Gandhiji had clearly indicated and said that in order to eradicate the evil of drink from the people in the cause of social reform and reconstruction, it was one of the primary duties of Swaraj Governments to enact laws for the Prohibition of intoxicating drinks. The Constitution of Free India lays down Total Prohibition as one of the directives to the State.
>
> "This Committee therefore believes that the Government of Bombay State has loyally followed and carried out the traditional policy of the Congress in adopting the law prohibiting intoxicating drinks.
>
> "And the Committee also declares its firm belief that all State Governments as also the Central Government should and must pass Prohibition laws to aid the eradication of the evil of drink.
>
> "But along with this declaration of its faith the Committee strongly urges all its local committees fully to aid the Government in the administration of the Prohibition law and to work among those who are victims of the evil to persuade them to give it up.
>
> "With regard to the administration of the Prohibition law of Bombay State it is the experience of the members of this Committee and Congress workers that a very large portion of the people demand such a law. And a feeling that the administration of the law is not as effective and successful as it should be is expressed in some quarters.
>
> "This Committee believes that in depending solely on the police for the administration of this law we as Congressmen have failed in our duty and therefore exhorts every Congressman to counter with determination the propaganda and agitation carried on against Prohibition and actively to assist the State in the administration of the law of Prohibition."

It may be asked : why this resolution ? Does not the resolution itself say that for years past the Congress has considered Prohibition as part of its policy ? And does it not also say that it is now an important part of the policy of the Constitution of India ? Where then was the occasion or need for this resolution ? The reason is obvious to those who would see. If one were to see with open eyes what is going on in Bombay State the reason will be readily perceived.

The Bombay State remaining loyal to Prohibition as one of the basic policies of the Congress took the first available opportunity to carry it out in practice, and is firmly adhering to it today. A section of the trading community and some political parties opposed to the Congress have begun to show a concealed, or open opposition to the policy for the acceptance of which by the nation innumerable men and women, irrespective of political parties or castes or creeds, had shown readiness to work and suffer. Even these opponents of the policy do not say that they do not want Prohibition. What they cannot bear to see, they say, is the loss of the large excise revenue ; and falling a victim to the greed for this revenue they are enticed into opposing the very thing which, they profess, is fundamentally good in theory. These sections of the people have the capacity of loudly shouting for what they want, are educated, are clever in propaganda and agitation, and can afford and know how to spend large sums of money to serve their purpose. In these circumstances some politically minded persons find a convenient and easy occasion to run down the Congress and are drawn into opposing Prohibition which is really an act of betrayal of the large mass of our people. The greed for this tainted revenue has reached such proportions that some of our State Governments which are and call themselves Congress Governments are putting forward specious arguments and pretexts to avoid adopting the policy of Prohibition. Indeed, the great Planning Commission itself has fallen a victim to this distressing state of affairs. And the policy of the Central Government in the matter has been such as to, for example, indirectly aid and encourage slackening the step of Prohibition in the country. For example see the Madhya Pradesh Government. The Congress as a political organization carries the burden of running the State Governments and also bears the responsibility to run the Central Government. It seems to be helplessly witnessing this tragic sight in respect of one of the items of its basic policy. It seems to be unable to do anything about it. In some places even Congressmen are seen being misled and drawn into this vortex of opposition to the Congress itself. If at such a time the Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee reaffirms its faith, stands as a warning sentinel to the people of its region, asks them to be earnestly active, and gives support to the State Government in its policy of Prohibition, it is certainly most refreshingly welcome, and the reason and need for its resolution also become immediately evident.

The resolution requests and appeals to all the State Governments as also the Central

Government to enact Prohibition laws. This request should not be understood to be addressed to the Governments alone. It should be taken as addressed to all the Pradesh Congress Committees also. Every Pradesh Congress Committee, the All India Congress Committee as also the Working Committee of the Congress should consider and adopt resolutions on the lines of the resolution of the Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee. The Congress today finds itself in a difficult position. It is being assailed by all sorts of criticism from all quarters. Indeed, from newspapers one reads that its President himself said recently in self-criticism at Nagpur that it has turned into a home for inert indolent persons. One may be permitted to ask, should not the Congress show to its members what work it expects from them? Right within the organization itself differences of opinion regarding the attitude towards various constructive activities forming part of its programme which has evolved during the course of its glorious history are to be seen; no uniform or firm policy and attitude are in evidence. Does the Congress Organization lay down a definite policy and give what may be called a well-considered, consistent lead regarding the various constructive activities, such as Khadi, Village Industries, Service of the Villages, Prohibition, Basic Education, Hindi-Hindustani Prachar etc.? It has to be confessed it does not. And does it not seem to drag itself in the wake of and along with its Governments as they are? This state of affairs is as distressing as it is dangerous for both of them — both for the Congress Organization and its Governments. Both would be losers if this position is allowed to continue. If the Congress Organization wants to save itself from this unhappy state of things it should hasten to apply itself and its mind to its own task in right earnest. It clearly means that Congressmen everywhere should shake off what their ever active and wakeful President has called their inertia and earnestly, seriously and actively apply themselves to their work. It is of course true they should be shown what they have to do by giving them a clear lead and by creating the proper atmosphere. The Congress Organization should remove the suicidal confusion about the work before itself by working out and laying down a clear-cut policy. The resolution of the Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee serves a very useful purpose from this point of view. It reminds all Congressmen of their duty and urges them to apply themselves to their work.

One thing more before closing. So far as laying down policy is concerned one may without the fear of being mistaken take the Planning Commission as the Central Government. What does this Commission propose to do about Prohibition? It is the clear duty of this Commission to consider, think out and lay down plans for the speediest fulfilment of the directives of State policy laid down in the fourth part of the Constitution of India. One of the directives is to lead the country to Total Prohibition. Planned work has to be organized all over the country to this end; it is the duty of the Commission to plan this work; and it is the duty and responsibility of the Central Government to see the work planned and executed. Will they loyally perform their duty? What appears in newspapers, one is compelled to say with regret, is not very encouraging or reassuring. One learns that the Commission desires to appoint a Prohibition Committee. What this Committee is or is going to do, who will be appointed on the Committee, when it will be appointed and such other pertinent details are not available. Certain points, however, have to be regarded as self-evident regarding this Committee and its appointment; the Central Government or the Planning Commission dare not, cannot afford to be misled or commit mistakes regarding these points:

1. It should be the function of this Committee to consider and lay down the steps to be taken and the measures to be adopted so that the policy of Prohibition comes into force all over the land as speedily as possible. This and none other can be its function. In undertaking or adopting any other function the Committee will be going against the Constitution. It should be pointed out here that the Commission cannot appoint a Committee like the one that was appointed by the Madhya Pradesh Government some time ago.

2. Members on this Committee should be such as believe in the policy of Prohibition as directed by the Constitution and also have faith in the execution of that policy. Others therefore can have no place on it. From some quarters it is being asked and some have begun to write enquiring whether those opposed to the policy of Prohibition would be given place on the Committee. Such questions and queries are to say the least improper. This is not and cannot be a Committee which has to enquire into the question as to what should be done regarding the question of Prohibition. Prohibition has already been definitely laid down as State policy. It would therefore be improper for the Planning Commission to be dilatory about the execution of this policy; or to be afraid of executing it with determination; or to look with greedy eyes on the revenue it would bring to the State if the execution of this policy is postponed. It should appoint this Committee with the single aim of considering and finding out as to what should be done to carry out in practice the mandate of the Constitution regarding Prohibition. The Committee will ask the State Governments as to what they propose to do in carrying out this mandate of the Constitution. The Planning Commission should before long be in possession of the relevant information.

Prohibition is one of those items of State policy which are fundamental to the economic and social reconstruction of our country. It is time we understood thoroughly that unless Prohibition was placed right at the foundation of our regeneration all planning would remain away and empty of content. Prohibition is a lever which, once we begin to operate, will give us the insight and the strength to think and do things for and by ourselves. With the short experience we have had of Prohibition we are able to see clearly the revolutionary means and power for reconstruction it gives us. It certainly gladdens the heart to see that the Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee by its resolution quoted above has given timely lead to the Congress and the Government for the cultivation of the revolutionary strength and power.

4-11-'52 MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

(From the original in Gujarati)

B. C. G. VACCINATION

To

The Editor,

Sir,

Please publish the following in your valued columns:

It is stated in newspapers today that on the suggestion of doctors the Government of India will carry out the policy of B. C. G. vaccination for tuberculosis on a mass scale among the people of India. Parents should refuse to have their children inoculated with B. C. G. vaccine filth.

I respectfully and humbly warn your readers that the opinion of doctors is not entitled to be regarded as disinterested and impartial. Mr Bernard Shaw, the famous playwright, truly said: "The interests of doctors are directly and vitally opposed to those of the public. Doctors starve when we are well and make money when we are ill. Doctors are interested in making us ill and keeping us ill."

The public can form a correct opinion about vaccines independently of doctors. Vaccination and inoculation consist in the injection of filthy pus from diseases of tortured beasts into the bodies of healthy persons. About this Professor Newman says, "A doctor who thinks that he can improve human health by putting corruption (vaccine filth) into the blood may be very learned but he is, to my mind, certainly very foolish and his opinion deserves contempt, be his erudition ever so extensive. He goes wrong in First Principles."

This being so, people should not rely on doctors' opinion about vaccines. The public should believe such a religiously honest and truthful gentleman as Mahatma Gandhi who says in his excellent book entitled *Key to Health* * (which book everyone should read): "My study of vaccination has convinced me that it is an ignorant delusion." Shaw, Herbert Spencer, Tolstoy, Prof. Wallace, Dr. Creigton and other famous men have also regarded vaccination and inoculation as useless and dangerous. Cleanliness is the only true preventive of diseases caused by filth and dirt.

Your readers can obtain free pamphlets describing the uselessness and dangers of vaccination for small-pox and inoculation for plague, typhoid fever, cholera, tuberculosis and diptheria from the Secretary of the National Anti-Vaccination League, 25 Denison House, 296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, Westminster, London S. W. 1 (England) and from the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection (which means cruel experiments on animals in medical laboratories), 47 Whitehall, London S. W. I.

54 Wodehouse Road, Yours truly,
Colaba, Bombay-5 SORABJI R. MISTRI

[I gladly publish this letter of Shri Mistri. As readers know, doctors are divided on this question of B.C.G. (vide *Harijan*, 27-2-1949 (p. 449) and 27-3-1949 (p. 25). Therefore it must be optional to parents to get their children treated with B.C.G. or no.

Apart from mere scientific considerations about the efficacy of B.C.G., it raises the larger and more fundamental questions of morality and ethics as well. Shri Mistri draws our attention to these also. It raises the question of cruelty to animals for man's questionable self-interest.

On these counts this letter deserves serious consideration.

29-9-'52 — M. P.]

* Price As 10, Postage etc. As 2, Navajivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad-9.

THE PATNA SARVODAYA CONFERENCE

A Further Mile-stone in Bhoodan Campaign

With his entry into Patna, the ancient Pataliputra, capital of Bihar, the land hallowed by the names of Gautama and Gandhi, Shri Vinoba further accelerated the tempo of his campaign, when he announced that along with land, he would also ask for one-sixth of the income and property from the people. This marks a significant development of the Bhoodan programme which now unfolds itself as a comprehensive social and economic revolution. The land problem is basic, it is the foundation of this programme. That may be presumed to have been securely laid, now after a year and a half of intensive work during which more than four lakh acres have been collected. The message that land cannot be owned individually as an exclusive possession has fully permeated the atmosphere. Shri Vinoba's great idea of land being the free gift of God has gone abroad and the day is not far when the institution of the exclusive ownership of land will be a thing of the past.

Give Your Property also

The foundation being thus well laid it was necessary to go further in the work of forging out a full-fledged socio-economic revolution on that basis. The question had been raised on

several occasions previously. But Shri Vinoba pleaded patience. He would say, "Attend to the root and everything will be added unto it." There was need to forge the sanction, the sanction of adequate strength in the workers to go forward. Shri Vinoba continued to reflect over it and discuss with friends and co-workers. Meanwhile, some friends, quite voluntarily and individually, allocated one-sixth, one-eighth, or one-tenth share of their money-incomes and property. There were others who had no land but who had money and wanted to do their bit for the cause with contributions in money. Thus, the situation continued to grow mature and has now borne fruit in the form of this call from Patna. Vinoba now demands not only a share of one's land, but also a portion of money; of the property, or the monthly income or the daily wages.

'Kanchan-Mukti'

Shri Vinoba has often expressed himself that money is the root-cause of many evils which disfigure the existing social order. Consequently in his Ashram at Paunar, he has started an experiment called the Kanchan-Mukti programme — a way of life free from the need of money. Therefore one would naturally ask: How then can he accept a gift in money? Vinoba answers 'I do ask for money, but I will not accept it. I will ask the donor to spend it.' The responsibility of spending the money and of keeping the accounts will be entrusted to the donor himself. The donor will be put on his honour. This complete faith in the integrity of the donor will surely have the effect of stimulating his conscience and awakening in him a sense of trusteeship and duty to the poor. Herein lies the beauty of the non-violent technique and if it succeeds, as surely it will, it will be one of the greatest victories of Ahimsa.

Bihar Land-Problem

Patna may well be proud that it had the glory of initiating this all-embracing revolutionary movement. It was on the 11th September when he was leaving Kashi to enter Bihar that Vinoba decided not to go back to his Ashram until he had solved the land-problem. Forty days later he took up another decision, in furtherance of the first, that of not leaving Bihar until the land-problem in this province was solved.

This is the second great achievement of the Patna Conference. It shows the keen anxiety and deep devotion with which Vinoba is exerting himself for the solution of this problem. The other day, a friend asked, "You are fanning the fire of land-hunger; will it not lead to violence? Are you not then creating a danger which may well jeopardize the security of the country?"

To him Vinoba said, "I will prefer anything to the existing conditions. I cannot stand this peace of the grave. Not I, but you will be creating the danger, if you keep your coffers locked and do not throw open the door of your heart. I am rather trying with all my life to ward it off and stem its fury, if at all it comes."

The Congress Decides to Tow the Line

The Bihar Congress has realized the position and its duty under the circumstances. It has accepted this programme, and has made it as its own chief work and offered to fulfil four lakh acres, the first instalment of his demand. Undoubtedly this decision of the Bihar Congress is quite serious and may prove revolutionary in its far-reaching effects. Of the many things, the Congress may have done, this is the first during recent years which will call for a spirit of love and sacrifice and disinterested devotion to work. A political party accepting a venture of service as part of its programme constitutes not only a noble example but also a challenge to others. This is the third great achievement of the Patna Conference.

The All-Bihar Decision

The fourth and the last, though not the least of these, is the coming together of the various parties on a single platform. A fact of great importance about the Bhoodan movement is that it has provided a common programme to the country, where different parties may meet in a joint endeavour for the people. It is a big step forward towards the realization of the dream of Sarvodaya. The resolution on the last day symbolized this unity quite visibly. It was moved by Shri Chand Sahib, the president of the Praja-Socialist party and seconded by Shri Jagat Narayanlal. The resolution states: "The land-problem is our foremost problem today, and on the satisfactory solution of this problem rests the solution of our other problems. With the solution of this problem, we would have marched a long way towards the social and economic independence, which will fulfil and make the political independence real and which is quite essential for building up a real democracy. It is equally important what means we adopt to achieve this end. Therefore the Conference supports the Bhoodan Yajna movement of Shri Vinoba Bhave and resolves to put in all efforts to make it a success." The resolution then proceeds to call on the progressive elements in the country to come together in a big co-operative effort to implement this radical programme.

A far-reaching non-violent revolution is under way in Bihar. May God give the people of Bihar the strength to discharge their high responsibility, and may He make of them a shining example to the country and the world abroad.

(Abridged from Hindi) L. B.

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LEGISLATION AGAINST COW SLAUGHTER

(*By Gandhiji*)

Though I regard cow protection as the central fact of Hinduism, central because it is common to classes as well as masses, I have never been able to understand the antipathy towards the Mussalmans on that score. We say nothing about the slaughter that daily takes place on behalf of Englishmen. Our anger becomes red-hot when a Mussalman slaughters a cow........ The Hindus commit no sin, if they cannot prevent cow slaughter at the hands of Mussalmans, and they do sin grievously when in order to save the cow they quarrel with the Mussalmans. (*Young India*, 29-5-'24).

Mussalmans claim that Islam permits them to kill a cow. To make a Mussalman, therefore, to abstain from cow-killing under compulsion would amount in my opinion to converting him to Hinduism by force. Even in India under Swarajya, in my opinion, it would be for a Hindu majority unwise and improper to coerce by legislation a Mussalmań minority into submission to statutory prohibition of cow slaughter. (*Young India*, 29-1-'25).

In India which I consider to be as much the land of Hindus born in it as of Mussalmans, Christians and others born in it, even a Hindu State may not prohibit cow slaughter for purposes considered to be religious by any of its subjects without the consent of the intelligent majority of such subjects, so long as such slaughter is conducted in private and without any intention of provoking or giving offence to Hindus........But in my opinion the economic side of the cow question, if it is properly handled, automatically provides for the delicate religious side. Cow slaughter should be and can be made economically impossible, whereas unfortunately of all places in the world it is the sacred animal for the Hindus which has become the cheapest for slaughter....

The reader will observe that I have nowhere said, that there should never be any legislation against cow slaughter. But what I have said is, that there should be no prohibition of cow slaughter by legislation *without the consent of the intelligent majority of the subjects adversely affected by it*.

But let me reiterate what I have emphasized so often in these columns, namely, that legislative prohibition is the smallest part of any programme of cow protection. The trend of the letters received by me, and the activity of most Cow Protection Societies, however, show, that they would be satisfied with mere legal prohibition. I wish to warn all such societies against staking their all on legislation. We have already too much of it in this law-ridden country. People seem to think that when a law is passed against any evil, it will die without any further effort. There never was a grosser self-deception. Legislation is intended and is effective against an ignorant or a small evil-minded minority; but no legislation which is opposed by an intelligent and organized public opinion, or under cover of religion by a fanatical minority, can ever succeed. (*Young India*, 7-7-'27).

In his post-prayer speech Gandhiji said that Rajendra Babu had told him that he had received about 50,000 post cards, 30,000 letters and thousands of telegrams asking for prohibition of cow slaughter in the Union of India.* A telegram was received today saying that a Pandit had undertaken a fast in Cawnpore on that issue. Hindu religion prohibited cow slaughter for the Hindus, not for the world. Religious prohibition came from within. Any imposition from without meant compulsion. Such compulsion was repugnant to religion. India was the land not only of the Hindus but also of the Muslims, the Sikhs, the Parsis, the Christians, the Jews and all who claimed to be of India and were loyal to the Union. If they could prohibit cow slaughter in India on religious grounds, why could not the Pakistan Government prohibit, say, idol worship in Pakistan on similar grounds? He was not a temple-goer, but if he was prohibited from going to a temple in Pakistan he would make it a point to go there even at the risk of losing his head. Just as *Shariat* could not be imposed on non-Muslims, Hindu Law could not be imposed on non-Hindus. He told the audience that many Hindus were guilty of cow slaughter by slow torture. It was the Hindus who exported cows outside India well knowing that they were to be slaughtered for beef extract which came to India and which the children of orthodox Hindus ate without compunction under medical advice. Were they not co-partners in cow slaughter? (*Harijan*, 10-8-'47).

* The reader probably knows that a similar mass application is being organized at present by the R. S. S. and signatures are being collected in that behalf in various places. — Ed.

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CONTENTS

		PAGE
HOW PLAN FOR INDIA	.. Gandhiji	321
THE THIRD FORCE AND POWER POLITICS	.. Pyarelal	321
TIMELY LEAD	.. Maganbhai P. Desai	324
B. C. G. VACCINATION	.. Sorabji R. Mistri	326
THE PATNA SARVODAYA CONFERENCE	.. L. B.	326
LEGISLATION AGAINST COW SLAUGHTER	.. Gandhiji	328
NOTES:		
ALL-INDIA HANDLOOM BOARD	.. M. P.	322
TEXTILE ENQUIRY COMMITTEE	.. M. P.	322
RAJAJI ON HANDLOOM FUND	.. M. P.	322
HINDI — NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL	.. M. P.	323
"A GREAT CONTRAST"	.. J. C. Kumarappa	323
AN IDEAL BHOODAN	.. L. B.	323

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